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I.—FURTHER NOTES ON THE MOSTELLARIA OF PLAUTUS.¹

A. THE MOSTELLARIA AND THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

The extent of the influence of the *Mostellaria* on the Elizabethan drama seems not to have been entirely understood. It is true that Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller* is a well-known translation of the *Mostellaria*; and, interwoven as it is with an entirely different plot, it furnishes the younger student with a most admirable instance of 'contamination'. A second adaptation, Fielding's *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, which belongs to a later period, may be studied for the same purpose.

It is hard to say whether Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* was consciously founded on the *Mostellaria* or not. Taken broadly, both plays turn on the misconduct of a servant during his master's absence from home. Of minute resemblances there are none: it is true, as Sonnenschein² says, that the line "Nothing's more wretched than a guilty conscience" (Act V, sc. 1) looks like a translation of *Most.* 544, *nihil est miserius quam animus hominis conscius*, but, after all, this sentiment is a commonplace, and a charge of direct imitation will not lie.³

It has been observed that in *The Taming of the Shrew* two of the characters have names borrowed from the *Mostellaria*,

¹ This paper is a continuation and supplement to Textual Notes and Queries on Plautus. I. *Mostellaria* in Vol. XVIII, pp. 168-188, of this Journal.

² Introduction to his edition of the *Mostellaria*, p. xiii.

³ Cf. also Reinhardstoettner, *Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele*, p. 489.

but any further traces of imitation have been expressly denied,¹ or, if pointed out, seem altogether unconvincing.²

Very marked resemblances may, notwithstanding, be pointed out between the plays under discussion. Thus, in the beginning of *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, i, 1-47), it is clear that Tranio acts as tempter of his young master, Lucentio, who, having come to Padua to study, thus delivers himself:

Virtue and that part of Philosophy
Will I apply that treats of happiness
By virtue specially to be achieved;

whereupon Tranio, first commending Lucentio's virtuous resolves, adds:

Only, good master, while we do admire
This virtue and this moral discipline
Let's be no Stoics, nor no stocks, I pray;
Or so devote to Aristotle's chicks
As Ovid be an outcast quite abjured.
Music and Poesy use to quicken you
No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en:
In brief, sir, study what you most affect.

Lucentio quickly yields, resolving to

Take a lodging fit to entertain
Such friends as time in Padua shall beget.

Lucentio's rôle of a virtuous young man reflects Philolaches's long monody in the *Mostellaria*, while Tranio is a prompter to coming vice in the *Shrew*, as he was in the *Mostellaria* the prompter to vicious courses already in progress, the young masters in each case being model young men.

The relation of man to master is pictured in the *Shrew* (I, i, 218-220) as follows:

For so your father charged me at our parting;
'Be serviceable to my son', quoth he,
Although I think 'twas in another sense;

with this compare *Most.* 25-28, in which a virtuous slave upbraids Tranio for seducing his young master to evil:

¹ Lorenz, *Mostellaria*,² p. 40.

² Sonnenschein, l. c., pp. 5 and 10 (note on vs. 18).

haecine mandauit tibi, quom peregre hinc it, senex?
 hocine modo hic rem curatam offendet suam?
 hocine boni esse officium serui existumas
 ut eri sui corrumpat et rem et filium?

In the same scene Lucentio stands aside, overhearing and viewing Bianca, with whom he falls suddenly and rapturously in love. This situation is very similar to the situation in the *Mostellaria* (I, iii), where the young master falls into raptures aside over his lately acquired sweetheart, Philematium. The only difference in the dramatic situation is the same temporal difference as noted above, viz., that in Shakespeare the situations are prophetic, in Plautus narrative.

In the second scene of the *Shrew* (Act I) the stage business consists in knocking at a door; and the servant of Petruchio, Grumio by name, gets a violent beating for not understanding his master's order,

Villain, I say, knock me here soundly.

In the *Mostellaria* the opening scene reveals Grumio pounding loudly at a door, whence Tranio suddenly emerges to give him a violent beating.

In the *Mostellaria* Tranio's chief rôle is to beguile his old master, who has unexpectedly returned home, and come into a violent altercation with him. Shakespeare puts Tranio in disguise as Lucentio, a disguise that is utterly futile and meaningless for the action, however elaborately justified (I, i, 200), until V, i, 42 fg., where his old master, coming to Padua, meets Tranio, disguised as his son, and falls into violent quarrel with him. His anger reaches its culmination in the outcry:

Where is that damned villain Tranio
 That faced and braved me in this matter so?

This reminds, even verbally, of the situations in the *Mostellaria* (IV, iii, end, and V, i, 16 fg.), where the old master, after making every preparation to flog Tranio, cries out:

nunc ego ille ueniat uelim (1074).

A further dramatic correspondence is the begging off of Tranio from punishment at the hands of his old master. In the *Shrew* this action is performed by Lucentio, his young master, with the following entreaty:

What Tranio did, myself enforced him to;
Then pardon him, sweet father, for my sake (V, i, 132-3).

In the *Mostellaria* Tranio is begged off by the chum of his young master in the following words:

quicquid fecit, nobiscum una fecit: nos deliquimus (1159).

In the light of the above correspondences it seems not too much to say that the rôles of Tranio and Grumio correspond rather minutely in point of dramatic business in both plays, and so do the rôles of Tranio's young and old masters.

B. TELL-TALE NAMES IN THE *MOSTELLARIA*.¹

The extent to which the characters in the *Mostellaria* bear tell-tale names is surprising. The ironical *Misargyrides*, 'Hate-silver-son', we may pass over. The ironical significance of *Theopropides*, 'Prophet-son', is also clear. For *Philematium*, 'Kissy' is a most appropriate designation, and for *Callidamates*, 'Lady-Killer' (Beauty-tamer). *Simo* of the snub-nose represents a type, not an individual, and *Delphium* may be his female counterpart (cf. the gloss² *simones* 'delfini'), but with *Callidamates* to her lover, it is natural to suppose the name allusive to some more graceful attribute of the dolphins: at any rate the name has been curiously permanent in the form *Delphine*. Why one of the slave boys was named *Sphaerio* ('Ball') is not evident, but another bears the name *Phāniscus*, 'Little-Revealer', and *Φᾶνός* is the name of an Aristophanic sycophant (Eq. 1256). It is *Phaniscus*' explicit function in the play to reveal the plot and bring on the dénouement. His associate, of a very surly disposition, was probably named *Pinacium*, 'Tablet', and the *πινάκιον* was specifically employed in lodging a writ of *εἰσαγγελία*. In the *Stichus*, the slave named *Pinacium* has a corresponding nasty temper. There seems, accordingly, no good reason for interpreting *Pinacium* by 'Picture'. The name of *Philolaches* the 'hero' of the piece, perpetually suggests to me, as I study his lines, the rendering 'Happy-go-lucky', but I know not how to justify any such definition.

¹ See the Prolegomena to the critical editions of Ussing and of Schoell; also Sonnenschein's edition, p. 5. Lately, the article of Karl Schmidt in *Hermes*, 37, pp. 173 sq., 353 sq., 608 sq.

² Goetz's *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*.

The generally tell-tale character of these names has hardly been outdone by Bunyan in his *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Three characters yet remain. The characteristics of Scapha, duenna and maid to Philematium, are correctly indicated by the name Blanda, which Heywood has given to the corresponding character in *The English Traveller*. In Greek, λέμβος, a name for a boat similar to the σκάφη, meant outright a flatterer and parasite, cf. Anaxandrides, *Odyss.* 2. 7 ὅπισθεν ἀκολουθεῖ κόλαξ τῷ; λέμβος ἐπικέκληται, 'should a flatterer tag after us, we dub him trailer'. With this we may compare the definition in Nonius (535), scaphae sunt nauculae quae maiores naues consecuntur.

But inasmuch as Menander uses the phrase συστομώτερος σκάφης, interpreted by Zenobius (*Cent.* v. 95,—in Leutsch's *Corpus Paroem.* Gr. I, p. 158) as 'scant of speech', Scapha, the much talking, might also be considered to have an ironical name.

Honest Grumio, a country slave who appears with Tranio in the first scene only, has a name that may be explained either as Greek or Latin. In Themistius 23, the words σνρφετὸς καὶ γρυμαία signify 'dirt, trash',¹ and Latin glosses² furnish the entry grummum 'congestio pulveris'. I would therefore interpret *Grumio* by 'Clod' i. e. 'clodhopper'. The correctness of this interpretation seems to be borne out by a surprising string of epithets in vs. 40 sq. applied by Tranio, the pampered city domestic, to Grumio, stable-boy and Clod, from the farm. This string of epithets is, in my amended text (see p. 263):

germana inluuies, rusticum hercus, hara sui,
caulae caprum commixta.

"Thou native filth, thou stable-yard of the farm, pig sty | goat-pen—, all mixed:" cf. *Tempest*, I. 2, 314 "Thou earth, thou,—" ib. 346. "Filth as thou art". Before pronouncing these epithets for a farm-hand impossible, the reader is asked to note Shakespeare's names for a tailor (*Taming of the Shrew*, IV, iii, 106 fg.):

O monstrous arrogance! Thou liest, thou thread, thou thimble,
Thou yard, three quarters, half-yard, quarter, nail!
· · · · ·
Away, thou rag, thou quantity, thou remnant.

It must have occurred to everyone that ever looked at the name of Tranio that it might be etymologically cognate with

¹ Cf. Ussing's *Plautus* III, 2, 300, citing Ritschl.

² Goetz, l. c., s. v.

τετραίνω (with a by-form τετράω) 'pierces' and its derivative adjective τρανής, but no one has been able to derive from this etymological cognation a satisfactory explanation of the name. The tragedians, Euripides and Aeschylus, use the adverb τρανῶς in combination with verbs of saying, showing and learning in complexes that signify "to reveal" or "to have revealed to one"—the mysterious, the *mot de l'énigme*. Further, a by-form of τρανής was used as an epithet of Hermes, the revealer, the messenger of Zeus and the other gods. This by-form is τρανός, and it occurs in the mythological writer Cornutus in the following connection (N. D. 16): πρῶτον μὲν διάκτορος κέκληται ἀπὸ τοῦ διάκτορος εἶναι καὶ τρανός. Later Greek authors, as the most cursory inspection of the appropriate articles in Stephanus's Thesaurus will show, used the verbs τρανέω and τρανόω in the sense of *revelare*. From these data we would seem to be justified in defining Tranio by "Revealer." Our play will then contain a Revealer in chief, Tranio; a stupid contratype, Theopropides (Prophet-son) his master; and a slave, Phaniscus, who reveals the revealer.

The general appositeness of the name Revealer for Tranio must strike any one who has ever read the ghost-scene (455-531), wherein Tranio reveals to his master the secret of the ghost of the haunted house.

An examination of the play will reveal that this interpretation of Tranio's name is otherwise apposite. For instance in vs. 667:

quicquid dei dicunt id decretumst dicere,

Tranio speaks quite in the character of a Hermes. Again, in 514, it is a Hermes ψυχοπομπός that speaks:

nil ego formido; pax mihi cum mortuis.

When Tranio has taken refuge on the altar near the end of the play, he replies to his master's threat of burning him quite as though he were under the special protection of the gods (1113):

nunquam edepol hodie <di med> inuitum destinant tibi.

Only a few verses before, when urged to leave the altar, he replied (1104-5):

sic tamen hinc consilium dederō: nimio plus sapio sedens:
tum consilia firmiora sunt de diuinis locis.

On this passage Lorenz's note is: "it is natural to think of the Delphic Pythia who, sitting on the tripod, gave her oracles therefrom. There is perhaps also a jesting allusion to the common practice of holding sessions of the Roman senate in temples."

Again, in 849 sq., where Tranio and his timid master, an anti-Herakles, pass by the house-dog, the situation recalls, in a burlesque fashion, Hermes' conduct of Herakles past Cerberus into Hades.

Also, when Tranio undertakes (523 sq.) to drive his master away from the door of the haunted house, *capite aperto*, the words:

caue respexis, fuge, operi caput

might be taken for a burlesque suggestion of the Hermes-Orpheus-Eurydice tale.

It would be only in the two last of these passages that Tranio poses outright as a Hermes; while in the rest he would be but jesting from time to time upon the etymological significance of his own name of "Revealer." But even if we should regard Tranio's rôle as retaining traits of a burlesque Hermes of Middle Comedy, it would not be transgressing the bounds of probability in literary heredity.

One purpose, we may call it, of the dramatist in giving his characters tell-tale names is to furnish opportunity for quips and puns. This may be an easy form of wit, but Shakespeare did not disdain it. Thus in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* there is a servant named Simple employed as a go-between. He has just been shut up in Doctor Caius's closet when the medical man, about to leave the house, says (I, iv, 64):

Qu'ai-j'- oublié! dere is some simples in my closet . . .
Villain! larron! [*Pulling Simple out*] . . .

In the house inspection scene of the *Mostellaria* (783 seq.), which is full of equivoques (cf. Strong in *The Classical Review*, XI, 160), Theopropides says (825):

quia edepol ambo ab infumo tarmes secat.

The previous dialogue has put the audience in a position to understand by *ambo* (sc. *postes*) the two 'sticks' of old men, and to divine in *tarme*<s> 'woodworm' (which we should perhaps write *trami*<s>, with the manuscripts) an allusion, all unconscious on the part of Theopropides, to Tranio.

In 984 Phaniscus describes Tranio in the following language:

Tranio: is uel Herculi conterere quaes<i>tum potest.

Here *conterere quaesitum* means, by equivoque, 'to make a hole in (=squander) the hoard', and there is small room for doubt

that the real purpose in using *-terere* was to furnish a quip on the name of Tranio. If, further, Tranio is *qui teret*, quasi 'the Bruiser', then the fear expressed in 903:

ne huc exeat (sc. is?) qui male mulcet

may be rendered 'lest he come forth who bruises badly'. That *mulcere* may originally have had the sense of 'strike, beat' (later confined to *mulcare*), rather than the gentler sense of 'stroke', is perhaps attested by Ennius, Ann. 257 (Vahlen):

mulserat huc nauem compulsam fluctibus pontus,

for which the natural sense is 'the sea had buffeted (driven) hither the wave-beaten ship'. The propriety, however, of interpreting *mulcet* as a (purpose) subjunctive from *mulcare* is not to be gainsaid.

There is another group of passages in which the name Tranio seems to be played upon. In the scene with the old men already referred to (832-840) Tranio points out in the vestibulum a picture of two vultures, the two vultures being the two old men, pecked by a *cornix*, the cornix being himself (cf. Aristophanes, Eq. 1051, where *κορώναι* are charged with carping at a hawk). 'Vulture' is as common a metaphor in Graeco-Roman comedy for a greedy person as 'cormorant' would be with us, and seems applied here largely as a mere *epitheton ornans*, greed being a general characteristic of old men in comedy, rather than a specific characteristic of the two old men in the Mostellaria. But when Tranio calls himself a *cornix* one is tempted to believe that the epithet is explicit in its characterization. The cleverness of the *cornix* was proverbial, and when Tranio says:

quaeso huc ad me specta cornicem ut conspicere possies,

he may merely mean to draw attention to his own superior cleverness (cf. Otto, Sprichwörter . . . d. Römer, s. v. cornix); but if Tranio is a revealer, it makes the allusion much more pointed if we stress the prophetic character of the cornix.

The prophet bird is a well-known Greek conception, and Aristophanes (Aves 719 sq.) makes especial mockery of the use of the word *ὄρνις* in the sense of omen; while he introduces Euelpides and Peisthetairos as personally conducted in their expedition, the one by a prophetic jackdaw (*κολοιός*), the other by a crow (*κορώνη* = cornix): cf. also Epictetus, 1. 17. 2; 2. 7. 3.

Would an audience in the time of Philemon have been apt to appreciate the allusion when a character named Tranio, a burlesque Hermes the revealer, suddenly referred to himself as a prophetic crow (κορώνη) or raven (κόραξ)?

The Hermes character of Tranio might be plain enough, it would seem, for ever so slight a hint in his make-up—like the wings of the burlesque Mercurius in the *Amphitruo* (143)—to betray it, supposing the name Revealer not perpetually to suggest it. The text of our play gives no hint, however, of Tranio's make-up, and the raven (κόραξ) belongs to Apollo, not Hermes.¹ In the Greek original, the connection might have been made, not by a make-up, but by a pun on κόραξ ('corvus') and κἄρυνξ² 'herald', a standing epithet of Hermes, but the play bears no trace of such a pun. Accordingly, if *cornix* (which corresponds to κορώνη, not to κόραξ) here refers specifically to Tranio, the hint was probably conveyed neither by a make-up nor by a pun.

But the term *cornix* is here perhaps the name of another sort of bird, some one of the *cornidae*, a daw (κολοῖός), say, or a magpie (κίσσα). The glosses define cornices by corniculae, aues lascivae, iocosae. Horace (*Epist.* 1. 3. 29) briefly synthesizes the Aesopic fable of the daw in borrowed plumage, agreeing with the later Aesopic tradition that the disguised bird put on the feathers of all the other birds, rather than with Babrius and Phaedrus, who clothe their daw in peacock's plumes. Horace calls his bird *cornicula*. That he had in mind thereby the jackdaw rather than the *cornix* proper seems clear from the words κολοῖός κορώνης νιός of the later Aesopic tradition. The gloss already cited lends support to this idea. Either daw (κολοῖός, the *corvus* monedula of Linnaeus), jay (κίσσα) or magpie (κίσσα?) suit well the description aues lascivae, iocosae. The thievish and chattering habits of the magpie are particularly well known, and these characteristics would fit Tranio very neatly.

It is obviously impossible, without the Greek original, to tell what bird-name originally stood there for *cornix*. The field of

¹ There is a tale (see Thompson's *Greek Birds*, p. 93) to the effect that Apollo sent his raven (κόραξ) to fetch water, and had to punish him for dallying by the way: a possible allusion to this occurs in vs. 789, where Tranio's master chides him with the words: antiquom optines hoc tuom, tardus ut sis. Note the pun in *Tranio*/*tardus*, and see below on vs. 362.

² The κόραξ was Apollo's κἄρυνξ or Hermes; see last note.

conjecture is wide and airy. Recalling the habit of the smaller birds to fight hawks—as to vultures my knowledge permits me not to say—we might think of one of the *σπερμολόγος* flock, with the meanings of 'seed-eater' and 'babbler', noting Latin *cornicor*, defined in the glosses by *inepte loquor*. Linnaeus called the rook *corvus frugilega*, and *frugilega* approaches a Latin rendering of *σπερμολόγος*¹; Epicharmus and Alexander Myndius (*ap.* Athen. 398 C–D) mention a bird, the *tetrax*, with a name etymologically suggestive of 'Tranio', that was *σπερμολόγος*, (*σπερματολόγος*), *καρποφάγος*. The latter also comments on the noise of the *τέτραξ*: *ὅταν ὠτοκῇ δέ, τετράζει τῇ φωνῇ*; while Athenaeus (398 F.) calls the voice of the *τέτραξ* harsh (*βαρεία*). Besides the *τέτραξ*—including besides one of the pheasant tribe (perhaps the Guinea fowl) a small bird—the Greeks had birds named *τετράων* (Lat. *tetrao*), *τέτριξ*, *τετράδων*, *τετραῖον*, *τετράδυσιν* (*ἀηδόνα*), cf. *τατύρας*, *τέταρος*, *τίτυρος* ('satyrus, colonus vel avis'): names for all of which the reduplication, as well as the syllable *tra* (*tar*, *tur*), suggests onomatopoetic origin. It is impossible to fix the precise species and nature of these birds. The *tetrax*, however, had been put upon the stage, so to speak, by Aristophanes (Aves 885), in a list of hero-birds (god-birds), to whom worship should be offered.

That it was easy to pun on the name of Tranio with any of these bird names is self-evident, and the susceptibility of Greek audiences to puns may be caught by observing that Aristophanes (Acharn. 725–6) plays on *Φασιανός* (pheasant?) and *συκοφάντης*. The connection of *τρᾶνός* 'piercing' with *τορός* 'shrill', with *τορεύει* and *τορεῖ* 'shrills' (cf. Aristophanes, Pax 381 where *εἰ μὴ τετορήσω ταῦτα* 'unless I shall proclaim in shrill tones' is put in the mouth of Hermes) would hardly have occasioned difficulty to a Greek audience who would thus have bridged the way from Tranio, via the *τέτραξ*, to Hermes.²

But the *cornix* is not, if we may trust the glosses, the only bird with which Tranio identifies himself. In 823 he says:

atque etiam nunc satis boni sunt, si sunt inducti pice,

¹ Thompson (in his *Greek Birds* s. v.) defines *σπερμολόγος* by 'rook' and cites Hesychius for the gloss *σπερμολόγος*· *κολοιδῶδες ζῷον*.

² It is probably only accidental that the lexica do not register an example of *τρᾶνός* in the sense of 'shrill': cf. Antiphilus in Anthol. P. 9, 298. 6: *ὄργια Δηοῦς κηρύσσω γλώσσης ὁμμασι τρᾶνότερον* with Aeschylus Choeph. 452: *ὅ' ὦτων δὲ συντέτραινε μῦθον* 'let the tale penetrate thy ears': a life of Demosthenes is cited for *τρᾶνο-ποιέω* 'I pronounce clearly', and Empedocles for *τρᾶνώματα γλώττης*.

where the subject of *boni sunt* is *postes* 'the posts' but by equivoque, 'the sticks of old men'; *si sunt inducti* means literally 'if they are overlaid'—but by equivoque 'if they are overreached.'

Strong (l. c.) interprets *pice* as an *ἀπροσδόκητον*, but *inducti* may better be regarded as equivocal if *pice* joins in the equivoque. This it does if we may follow the gloss *pica* κίσσα καὶ πίσσα 'jay (magpie) and pitch (sic).' The magpie and cornix are near enough kin to pass for identical on the stage,¹ and when Tranio's master says in 839

nullam pictam conspicio hic avem,

he may very well, unconsciously to himself, be combining for the audience *pice* (827) and *cornicem* (835) into *pīcam* (pictam avem), just as his *tramis* (*tarmes* 825) unconsciously suggests *Tranio*.

As to the stem-form *pic-*, Plautus may well have used for *pica* the noun *pīx*, to be inferred as the source of Festus' gloss *pīcati*, appellatur quidam, quorum pedes formati sunt in speciem Sphingum: quod eas Dori fīcas vocant. In early borrowings *φίξ* (= *σφίγξ*) would pass into Latin as *pīx*, a form already recognized by some scholars for Plautus in Aul. 700, *pīcis* (nom. by 'inverse attraction'), *diuitiis qui aureos montes colunt, | ego solus supero*. Nonius (p. 152, 6), who reads here *pīci* (from *pīcus*) gives to the bird the character of the Greek mythological fowl, the γρύξ. That the syllable *pic-* might suggest, in this connection, to an audience of Romans, either the mischievous domestic thief, the *pīca*, or the mythological *Pīcus*², is hardly to be doubted.

A further passage, viz., 1104-5, cited above, may be interpreted as allusive to Tranio in his bird character of the *pīca*, or rather, perhaps, the *pīcus* ('woodpecker'), if we may suppose Plautus to have identified these birds to the same extent as did Nonius (518, 30): *picummus et avis est Marti dicata, quam picum vel picam vocant . . . et deus qui sacris Romanis adhibetur*. The deified *Pīcus* was represented in sculpture as sitting, cf. Ladewig's note on Aen. vii. 187: "The statue of *Pīcus* differs from the statues of the kings previously mentioned in this respect, viz., that *Pīcus* is represented in a sitting posture." The sitting habit of the *pīcus* was perhaps regarded as characteristic, cf. Varro, cited by Nonius (l. c.): *P. Aelius Paetus cum . . . sedens in sella curuli*

¹ Cf. also Thompson, l. c., s. v. κίσσα.

² King Celeus was the deified woodpecker (κελεύς, κολιός) of Greece.

ius diceret populo, picus Martius aduolavit adque in capite eius *adsedit*.

This interpretation of 1104-5 does not differ essentially from Lorenz's (cited on p. 250): the picus was also of the prophetic birds (oscines), cf. Asin. 260: picus et cornix ab laeua, parra ab dextera | consuadent . . . | sed quid hoc, quod picus ulmum tundit?

To the identification of Tranio with the pica (picus) or rather with the Greek *κολοίος* we shall return below.

A further allusion to the bird-character may be found in 1115, where Tranio says:

elixus esse quam assus soleo suavior.

It is at any rate a modern practice to stew tough birds and not to roast them.

Further indication of the bird character of Tranio is perhaps found in vs. 362, see p. 270.

There is nothing that surprises me so much, when after a careful reading I go to see a Shakespeare play, as to observe how different a thing the actors' make-up, the stage business and the *mise-en-scène* make of it. These elements must always be elusive to a merely literary study, however diligent, of an ancient drama. In the make-up of Tranio a mere hint of wings (as in the Amphitruo passage mentioned on p. 253) would indicate, not only his Mercurial character, but equally well his bird characteristics. But the archaeological evidence of vase paintings, accessible to me only in works of a somewhat general character, is not full enough to settle points of this kind. The Vatican does contain a vase with a burlesque Zeus-Hermes-Alcmena scene that had its literary source, perhaps, in the Amphitryon of Rhinthon, the Tarentine poet (cf. Helbig, Führer durch die Sammlungen Klass. Alter. in Rom. II², 314), and the same subject reappears on a British Museum vase (4th Vase-Room, F. 150). The subject belongs to the Phlyakes, and Philemon, the probable Greek author of the Mostellaria (the date of which is subsequent to 289 B. C., cf. Schanz, Römisch. Lit.-Geschichte², I, p. 49), might have been influenced in his old age by Rhinthon, whose *floruit* was 300 B. C. (cf. Barnett, Greek Drama, p. 47); for Philemon was a great traveller (cf. Christ, Griech. Lit.-Geschichte², § 204).

Burlesque mythological scenes, probably suggested by dramas, occur much earlier also, e. g., the Cabiri vases (see Guide to the Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, p. 176, Case 7). Of special interest are the subjects of "two comic actors, dressed as birds, and a flute-player" (ib., p. 183, No. B. 509), and "a dance of girls, imitating the flight of birds, under the instructions of a grotesque dancing master" (cf. also on this general subject Barnett, l. c., p. 49).

But I am very far from the suggestion, on the ground of such evidence, that Tranio in the *Mostellaria* could have been made up as a burlesque Hermes, or as a bird; or even from supposing that some hint like a peaked cap, or a pair of wings on ankles or petasos, conveyed the suggestion of Hermes or of bird; but if burlesque filled a large place in Middle Comedy (cf. Christ, l. c., § 200), and if bird rôles were common, as we might infer not only from the *Birds* of Aristophanes, but from the older *Komoi* (cf. Barnett, l. c., p. 55); we need not wonder at the recurrence, in the subsequent comedy of Philemon, of traits of a burlesque Hermes, and of the stage-bird.

Such allusions, however, must have been intelligible to an audience, and if it seems improbable that Tranio's make-up suggested, by the use of wings, both his characters—as a Hermes and as a prophet-bird—it remains true that the name Tranio, if rightly interpreted by 'revealer', does suggest both characters; while it would be the easiest thing in the world for an actor, by gesture and voice-color, to indicate his bird characteristics, thus making clear to ordinary folk in the audience points beyond the reach of the probe of the scholar closeted with his books.

There is yet another way in which the name of Tranio might suggest a bird character. In the light of names like Mag-pie, Tom-tit, Jenny-wren, Jack-daw, Poll-parrot, Martin (cf. also Jack and Jenny, the donkey-pair, and Tom of a Tom-cat), Dicky-bird—Dick is a very common name for a canary bird—we might suppose that the name Tranio was commonly bestowed upon some domestic bird, say the Mag-pie, as conversely the slave-name Corax (Capt. 657) comes from the name of the raven (κόραξ). It is semantically attractive to imagine in Tranio a bird appellative, 'the shrill one'. But, on the other hand, our testimonia for the name Tranio are absolutely inadequate to prove any such thing. The supposed occurrence of the name Tranion

on a Campanian crater (cf. Klein in *Archäol. Zeit.*, 37, pp. 31-33) applied to a boy extracting a splinter from one Hippomedon would be of value, but the certain part of the name is only $\tau\rho \dots \sigma\nu$, with space for but two letters rather than three.

In nothing of what has been advanced would I seek to justify allusions in the play by an etymological interpretation of the name Tranio. We must, on the contrary, seek to establish the tell-tale significance of the name Tranio by the evidence of the allusions in the play, and this will lead us briefly to recapitulate the course of the argument which, with some shift and enlargement, is as follows:

Tranio's name is etymologically connected by Plautus with Latin *terit* (Gr. $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$) 'bores, rubs' in the following verse (984):

Tranio: is uel Herculi conterere quaesitum potest.

This cognation is supported by an equivoque in which Tranio is called *tarmes* (or better, with the manuscripts, *tramis*) 'borer' (825):

quia edepol ambo ab infumo tramis secat,

words which the audience is to understand by 'a borer (a $\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$, i. e. Tranio) is undercutting the old men'.

The next step, after fixing the connection of the name Tranio with $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$, is to analyze the name morphologically; and the most direct derivation is from $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'piercing, shrill, clear, plain': cf. for the formation the Plautine names Euclio: $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, or Sceparnio: $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\nu\omicron\nu$, Olympio: $\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\varsigma$. Cornutus (68 A. D.) specifically applies the appellative $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ to Hermes, and in post-classical Greek verbs derived from $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ mean to 'reveal', while as early as Aeschylus the adverb $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is used in connections that would justify for $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ the connotation of 'revealing'.

Quite independent of these morphological speculations whereby Tranio is derived from $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ and defined as 'Revealer' (a Hermes, to wit), the following passages strongly suggest the character of revealer for Tranio:

667: quicquid dei dicunt id decretumst dicere

1104-5: sic tamen hinc consilium dederō, nimio plus sapio sedens:

tum consilia firmiora sunt de divinis locis.

The following passages admit of the same interpretation, though they may not demand it:

1113: nunquam edepol hodie di med inuitum destinant tibi:

514: nil ego formido: pax mihi cum mortuis.

As the last passage specifically suggests the mythological Hermes, so does the situation in 849 sq. where Tranio-Hermes escorts his master, an anti-Heracles, past a house-dog—Cerberus. Also, when Tranio (523) bids his master 'begone, to cover his head, and not to look back' a burlesque of the Hermes-Orpheus-Eurydice scene is suggested.

But certain verses suggest a bird character for Tranio: he points to himself in 835 as a *cornix*; in 827, in an equivoque, he uses the word *pice* (abl.) of himself, and the whole point of the equivoque demands the interpretation of *pice* as allusive to Tranio. If we apply to this passage the gloss *pīca κίσσα καὶ πίσσα*, it would seem as if *pice* might, in a pun, suggest the magpie (*pīca*, a sort of *cornix*), or the woodpecker (*pīcus*). In 839 Tranio's master uses the words 'pictam . . . auem', in what is again best regarded as an (unconscious) equivoque. It conforms to the character of Tranio as a *pīcus* (*pīca*) if we interpret the relative clause in 903:

cautost opus | ne huc exeat qui male mulcet

by 'the bruiser' (*mulcet* indic.), or by 'to bruise us' (*mulcet*, subj.). Similarly, vs. 365

este, ecfercite uos, saginam caedite,

may, in view of the connotation, common for *sagina*, of 'feed for fowls', be interpreted by 'eat, stuff yourselves, peck your feed': this is to treat *caedite* as a rendering of *κόπτετε* in its special sense of 'peck, gnaw'; cf. the gloss *caedo κόπτω ὃ ἐστι τέμνω*, which shows that *κόπτω* was the regular equivalent for *caedo*: and note the Lucilian word *cibicida*, a designation for slaves. We might suppose that *saginam caedite* is in some sort a Latin rendering of a pun on *σπερμολόγος* 'rook', *corvus frugilega*; cf. *cornix*. Or perhaps allusion is made to the *κολοιός* (see Thompson, s. v.) as a destroyer of crops.

Another mark of the bird character of Tranio is supplied by vs. 5:

exi inquam nido, †re cupi, nam quid lates?

It is curious how Tranio's more specific bird names, as well as their equivoques, lend themselves to transfer back to the Greek. He calls himself

cornix 'crow'[cf. *cornicula* 'daw']*pix* 'pitch, cement'*pix*, equivocal with*pica* or *picus*,cf. *picta avis*.cf. *κολοῖός* (*κορώνης νιός*) 'daw';*κορακίας*, a variety of *κολοῖός*;*κορακῖνος*, rendered 'jack-daw' by

Frere, Aristophanes, Eq. 1053.

cf. *κόλλα* 'glue, cement'cf. *κολοῖός* 'pica' (?)*κολιός* 'picus'*δρυο-κολάπτης* } 'picus'

"-κόλαψ

The gloss *pica* *κίσσα* ('jay' or 'magpie') καὶ *πίσσα* ('pitch'), for which the emendation *pix* is suggested in Goetz's Thesaurus, seems to confirm both the equivocal and literal meanings given above to *pix*. With these correspondences and the evidence of the gloss before us, is it too hazardous to guess that Tranio alluded to himself as a *κολοῖός* 'daw' and a *κολιός* 'woodpecker'? And if Tranio was, by equivocation, a daw, it is in point to note the common name of the daw, *βωμολόχος* 'liar in wait at altars', thus explaining the situation in 1094 sq. (cf. particularly vss. 1104-5, already cited, p. 250, as apt for the characterization of Tranio both as a Hermes and a *picus*, the mythical king Picus, to wit), where Tranio, the *κολοῖός βωμολόχος*, perches himself upon the altar.

If Tranio was a *κολοῖός*, we must exclude the notion that a bird name like *τέτραξ* (see p. 254) made the electric connection for the passage of the sparkle of jest and pun, unless through the epithet *σπερμολόγος*; nor have we ground for supposing that his make-up was such as perpetually to furnish a key to the equivokes. Hence we are left, as the most probable solution, with the idea that the appellative Tranio, quasi 'Shrilly, Pecky or Prophet', was so commonly associated with the domesticated *κολοῖός*—cf. Barnaby Rudge's raven, 'Grip'—as to suggest without more ado the Jack-daw.

C. TEXTUAL NOTES.¹

Argum. 5,

et inde primum emigratum.

For *primum* I read *prōtinam*, a rare Plautine adverb = *statim*, for which the Plautine quantity was *prōtinam* (Cas. 959/960,

¹ This paper, in conjunction with my first paper (supra, p. 245, f. n.) on the text of the *Mostellaria*, is devoted to an explanation of the readings—whether emendations or defences of the MSS—adopted in my edition of the *Mostellaria* (Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1902). Not every minute point is recorded, but

Curc. 363, Bacch. 374, Pers. 680, Terence, Phor. 190). So in Miles 1193 the first half of a trochaic Septenarius is *prórsum* A | thenas | *prötínūs* äb | ibo, while in Capt. 510 and Pseud. 587 the metre is too uncertain to enable us to fix the quantity of *protinus*. Obviously *protinus* is a compound of *pro* and *tēnus*, and Plautus shortens the final syllable of the first member of such compounds at will. The occurrence of Plautine words in the Argumenta is well attested.

If PROTINAM stood in a capital manuscript, it was easy to misread as PROIMAM; next would come a minuscule stage *simam*, *primum*.

5. The MS reading is

exi inquam nidore cupinam quid lates?

Ussing reads: *exi inquam nido, vulturi, nam quid lates*, and *nido* and *nam quid* (so Ritschl) seem to me indubitable. Ussing seems not to have defended the reading *vulturi* by any palaeographical argument, though one might now be tempted to appeal, in defense of *vulturi* as a substitute for the *-re cupi-* of the MSS, to the glosses¹ *vulturinos* 'gypy', *vulturis* 'gypi'.² He rather suggests *vulturi* as an appropriate bird-name after *nido*.

I have myself put *Tranio* into the text instead of *vulturi*. In vs. 1083 C and D read *re* in the text in place of the nota personae, TR. The same reading seems to have stood in B, but was subsequently erased. I assume that *Tranio* stood in our text; was then supplanted by the nota TR.; the latter being misread *re*. We are left to explain the intrusion of *cupi* into our text. I take it to be a gloss, either for (1) *nido*, or (2) for *Tranio*. If for *nido*, we may think of the Hesychian words *κύπη* 'hut' or *γύπη* 'a vulture's nest, hole'; cf. the gloss *vulturis* 'gypi', already cited, to show that *γύπη* was a word known to the glossists. If a gloss for *Tranio*, which seems to me much the less likely, perhaps, in view of *Tranio*'s character as a *picus* (see p. 255), *cupi*

I have tried to record all the emendations and interpretations for which I accept a personal responsibility: without, however, laying claim to absolute originality and priority, as, in the quantity of dissertations I have read in the past few years, I may well have caught up suggestions whose sources I failed at the time to record. Mere ad sensum emendations are not noted.

¹ Glosses, mentioned without further notice, are always extracted from Goetz's *Corpus Glossarum Emendatarum*.

² One might surmise that *τόργος* 'γύψ' stood in the Greek original, and *τόργος* would approximately pun with *Tranio*.

may be regarded as a syllabic inversion for *picu(s)*; cf. Lindsay, Latin Textual Emendation, p. 36, and Housman in Cl. Rev. 3, 201 for examples.

382.

<Tr.> ecce autem hic deposi <u> it, etc.

It is a question whether we should correct the hiatus of *ecce autem* at all. Editors are extremely shy, however, about admitting the validity of "punctuation" as a justification for hiatus, and phrasing, like all the other purely musical elements of a dead language, seems unlikely ever to be so revealed to our knowledge, as to be capable of reduction to an unchanging uniformity, expressed in terms of 'rules' and 'laws.'

In view however of Mil. 207, *eccere autem capite nutat*, continued in 209 by *ecce autem aedificat*, one is tempted to read here also *eccere autem*, connecting the loss of *-re* with the loss of the nota Tr.: perhaps by assuming a stage *re eccere*; cf. the repeated *quidem* in 235 below.

580.

Da. Reddetur ne igitur faenus? Tr. reddetur: nunc abi.

This line becomes metrical if we read *dabitur* for *reddetur*. The repetition of a compound (verb) by its simplex is a phenomenon well attested for Greek and Modern languages (cf. Oertel, Lectures on the Study of Language, p. 314 who does not cite any Latin examples).¹ The intrusion of *re-* into the text may be attributed to the nota, Tr. So in 1083 B² reads *Tr. eho*, and B¹ (probably) *re eho*. In 580 the condition is as if *Tr. re eho* stood in a MS of 1083. If *re dabitur* stood in a MS *reddetur* represents a copyist's emendation. As a general parallel to this verse cf. Merc. 769: *mercedem cedo:: cras petito: dabitur, nunc abi*.

1091.

uel hominem iube aedis mancipio poscere. <Th>
immo hoc primum uolo.

I have corrected this reading of the editio minor to u. h. tu aedis mancipio posce, etc.: *iube* for *tu* is perhaps a copyist's emendation to put *poscere* in construction, though *-be*, whether from an uncial *de* (dittography for *ae-*), or from *ue* (dittography from the *-u* of *tu* and *ē* of *aedis*), may be a palaeographical mistake. The phrase *mancipio posce*, 'demand in possession',

¹ But note Merc. 769, *cedo:: dabitur*; Truc. 276, *ne attigas me:: egon te tangam?*; and conversely Seneca, Med., 197 i:: *redeo*.

should be as normal as *mancipio da, accipe, promitte*, all in Plautus.

39.

. . . . Iuppiter
dique omnes perdant < alii > : oboluisti alium.

I have inserted *alii*, with some inconsistency, it must be confessed, as the hiatus before *alium* is a sort I am in general prepared to admit. The falling out of ALII after -ANT is haplographic, cf. Poen. 314, where A reads PLELLI, it would appear, for PLENI. For the phraseology cf. Persa, 755: Iuppiter, iuuisti, dique alii omnes. Other passages in which Iuppiter, or another god or group of gods, are contrasted with the *di alii* (*ceteri*) are Trin. 944; Amph. 12; Poen. 460; cf. Livy, 26. 8. 5; 6. 16. 2; Cicero, Rab. perd. 2. 5.

An additional reason for the falling out of *alii* is that it is followed, after an interval of one word, by *alium* (*allium*).

40-41.

germana inluuies, rusticus, hircus, hara sui
canem capram commixtam, etc.

I have corrected to g. i. *rusticum hercus* ('country stable-yard'), h. s. *caulae caprum* ('goat-pen') commixta.

The words *rus|ticus hir|cus* offend against the metrical law that two shorts, ending a polysyllabic word, cannot stand either in arsis or thesis. These words are, however, attested not only by the Plautus MSS but by Donatus on Terence, Phormio 709 (=4. 4. 28), and an acceptable correction must be based on them; *hercus* (ἑρκος) for *hircus* carries with it *rusticum* for *rusticus*, thus not only mending the metre (to which Leo, Plaut. Forsch. 238 applies his 'elision of final s'), but furnishing a suitable step (cf. Leo, l. c.) in the climax from *germana inluuies* to *hara sui*.

The reading *canē* (C) *canæ* (D) is a not difficult *ductus* perversion of *caulae*, particularly when *canem* is preceded by *sui* 'swine' and followed by *caprā* i. e. *caprū*: *caulae*, with its rich treatment by the glosses, and its rare literary occurrence in the sense of 'fold' ('sheep-fold', *par excellence*, cf. Aen. 9. 60, and the note of Servius)—here, with *caprum*, 'goat-pen'—continues the climax after *hara sui* 'pig-sty'. On the special applicability of these epithets to Grumio 'sordidus' see p. 249.

65.

. . . . saginam caedite.

See the interpretation of these words on p. 259.

73.

. . . . nimio celerius
venire < id > quod molēste < est > quam illud quod cupide petas.

I have inserted *id*: D would fall away easily before Q, and I after E; < *est* > was suggested in my first paper (p. 173). Two cases of iambic shortening in the same verse of words made dissyllabic by elision are not otherwise known to me in Plautus, but the type of sentence has a perfect parallel in Pseud. 281, *nimio id quod pudet facilius fertur quam illud quod piget*. Perhaps, with Bentley and Seyffert, we should correct *uenire* < id > to *uenit* < id >, assuming that *uenire* was a copyist's correction.

In Truc. 321 *conuenire etiam* has been corrected to *conuenit etiam*, making it look as if *-te* was read *re* (cf. *re* for the nota Tr., in vs. 5 fg.); accordingly, *uenit id quod* may have resulted in *venire(i) quod*.

84.

. . . . adolescenti optumo.

I have printed *adulescente* with the long *i* of the adjectival flexional type; it would have been as correct perhaps to print *-ē*: at least there is a certain number of consonant-declension ablatives with a long final (cf. Niemeyer's notes on Capt. 914, Miles 707). The hiatus seems better justified after a long vowel.

112.

tigna putrēfacit; < it > *per operam fabri*.

I have supplied < *it* >: the usual emendation is *per* < *dit* >, but unless we assume a torn manuscript, for which, *pace* Schoell, the evidence is insufficient, it is simpler to restore *it* (sc. *imber*). There is no reason to object to the idea in 'rain goes (runs) through (across) the carpenter's work': *ire per* is normal Latin for the diffusion of liquids over surfaces or through substances; cf. Aeneid 2. 173, *per artus | sudor iit*.

129.

ad legionem [comita] adminiculum eis danunt.

I have dropped *comita*, corrected in B to *comitum*, from the text, believing *comitū* (or *comitē*) to have been originally a gloss for the somewhat unusual word *adminiculum* 'assistant, squire'. Any copyist that knew his Aeneid might have made the gloss; cf. 9. 649, *tum comitem* (sc. Buten) *Ascanio pater addidit*. This

emendation converts 129-130 into an iambic octonarius, like 128 and 131.¹

140.

deturbavit extersit detexitque, etc.

Extersit is my correction for *texit* in the MSS. We may assume a stage DETURBAVIT <T>EXTERSIT, with a loss of *-ters-* by haplography, or by skipping from the second TE past -IT. As to construction, *verecundiam mi . . extersit* is like Poen. 970, *mihi apsterserunt omnem sorditudinem*.

146.

atque edepol ita haec umide putent: etc.

I have emended to *umidā deputent*; *deputere* 'to rot down', though not found in the lexicæ, seems as natural a word for Plautus to use as the nonce-word *exputescunt* (Curc. 242). The reading *umide* <de> *putent* might also stand.

150.

quo neque industrior de iuuentute erat.

So I read with the editio minor, though the editors in general impugn this passage. But *Rudens* 675 b offers a perfect parallel (in the neuter) both for the omission of *quisquam* (*alter*), and for the single *nequē*, to wit: *neque est melius morte in malis rebus*. A further parallel for the omission of *quicquam* with a *de-* phrase is *Nepos*, Cato, 3, *ut non facile reperiri possit, neque de Graecis neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum*.

171.

ut lepide omnes res tenet sententiasque amantum.

Editors have adopted Bergk's correction of *res* to *mores*, chiefly to avoid the hiatus with *lepide*. *Stich.* 104 has the phrase *imperitus rerum et morum mulierum*, and accordingly I have not disturbed *res*. The hiatus is easy to remove in other ways, e. g. thus, *lepide* <hec> *omnes* (the eligibility of *haec* for application to *Scapha* is proved by 279): hiatus is in fact so easy to remove in Plautus that it ought to render the wary suspicious of the surgical value of such plasters. There seems to be no musical reason—phrasing, elocutionary delivery—to qualify a hiatus between 'lepide' and 'omnes', but, unless we are to believe that in Roman speech elision was so complete that a listener would hear *lepid'* *omnes* alike for 'lepidi,-do,-dum,-dē omnes', are we to suppose that the poetic convention regarding hiatus was so

¹ I take occasion in passing to ask users of my book to explain the metre of 131 by § 27. 4, instead of by § 27. 3.

strong that the distinctive vowel fragment that was heard could never have syllabic value?

The inversion, *res omnis* (this order in Stich. 362), will also mend the metre.

174.

ergo ob hoc verbum, etc.

I have not corrected *hoc*. Scapha's cleverness in 168-9 had been rewarded by a mere compliment; for her *present* (*hoc*) speech she is promised a more substantial reward: supposing an archetype ERGOHOCOB, a skip over HOC might easily have resulted, after correction, in the unmetrical order of the MSS.

186.

equidem pol miror tam captam, tam doctam te et bene doctam.

I have corrected this unmetrical line to e. p. m. t. catam, perdoctam, etc., on the supposition that the *p* of *captam* got in from supralinear *p*, the abbreviation of *per*-. Perhaps we should read *perdocte* for *-tam*, defending *perdocte* . . doctam by Miles, 258, docte . . perdoctam.

200.

nilo ego, quam nunc tu, amata sum atque uni modo gessi morem.

This verse, which had previously been pronounced corrupt by nearly all the editors, is retained by the editio minor. I interpret the verse, supplying *tam* with *nilo*, by "I sold my love (*amata sum*) <as> gratis (*nilo*) as you now <sell yours>," etc." For the omission of *tam* I compare Rud. 943, non edepol piscis (sc. tam) expeto | quam tui sermonis sum indigens; and Men. 968-9, ut absente ero rēm eri diligenter | tutetur quam si ipse adsit, aut rectius; for the construction of *nilo* I compare Naevius 105, eius noctem *nauco* ducere; for the use of *tam* and *quam* with *amari* I compare Mil. 1202, nunquam ego me tam sensi amari quam nunc ab illa muliere, noting also the correspondence of *quam nunc* with *quam nunc tu*. From Most. 36, lubet potare, amare, scorta ducere, we may defend the interpretation of *amata sum* by *passa sum me scortum duci*.

213.

illa hanc corrumpit mulierem malesuada uiti lena.

I have corrected to i. h. c. m. malesuadelā ('by evil promptings') vitī lena. The adjective malesuadelă, might stand as well with lena agreeing. The reduction by the copyist of *malesuadela* to *malesuada* is on much the same footing as the common writing of *custodia* for *custodela*.

235.

iam istaquidem absumpta [quidem] res erit, etc.

I read iam *isti* absumpta quidem, etc., believing that *quidem* in the second position constitutes the lectio difficilior: a parallel is Capt. 789, conlecto quidemst pallio, cf. also Miles, 634; Cicero, ad Fam. 5. 16. 2, ad Att. 15. 13. 5, Orat. 13. The change of *ista* to *isti* is not necessary, but seemed to me to improve the sense, without taking any palaeographic risk to speak of.

241.

edepol si summo ioui bo argento sacrificassem.

This is the reading of B (with *io* changed from *iu*), corrected by B² to

. uiuo r
ioui · bo agent o

D reads ioui uiuo argento, and C ioui ioui a. With *bo* in the archetype, for which *vo* would be a very normal variant, it is clear how ioui <ui>uo arose. But inasmuch as *b* and *d* are confused in both minuscule and capital manuscripts (see my first paper, p. 184, vs. 926), I have corrected *ioui* (*iuui*) *bo* to *ioui inuido*: for an interpretation and defence of *inuido* see my notes.

308.

qui inuidet, ne umquam eorum quisquam inuideat prosus commodis.

The definition of *commodis* by 'good fellows' (supported by Poen. 615, Pseud. 443) destroys all Langen's merely verbal objections to this verse. In thought it does not ill continue

306.

haec qui gaudent, gaudeant perpetuo semper bono.

A similar sententia in Persa 777; bene ei qui inuidet mihi et ei qui hoc gaudet. How Plautus might have gone on after qui inuidet, had he chosen to make a harsh antithesis, let Shakespeare witness (Tempest V. i. 214): Let grief and sorrow still embrace his heart | That doth not wish you joy.

The interruption of the moralizing of 304-306 and 308 by the practical directions of the hostess to her servants (307) is an experience any of us may have enjoyed, whether as speaker or as auditor.

319, 325, 331, 339.

hecquid . . . ma-m-ma-madere—ho-ho-ho-cellus—
a-h-is ma-m-ma-madere—h-ec-quis.

As a warrant for accepting all this *aitch*-ing as a part of the drunken mimetic, I quote the following from a letter of Mr. F.

H. Sargent of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, though his reply touches only the one case submitted to him (*ho-ho-hocellus*):

"I think that the '*ho*' added to the word *ocellus* is without doubt intended to represent the sound a drunken man makes in attempting to get out words. It is exactly what we would do in the impersonation of drunkenness where the drunkard would take the easiest sound which he could produce, which would be approximately '*ho*' or '*hah*'. The organs of speech being relaxed by the alcohol the consonant sounds are difficult for the intoxicated man to give; he therefore makes expulsions of breath in the form of incomplete vowels, like '*ho*'."

It is quite true that *hecquis* and *ahis* are common MS spellings, and it is accordingly impossible to claim a certain mimetic value for them in the drunken scene before us.

327.

quam illi ubi lectus est stratus coimus.

coimus is my correction for *coimus* (cf. Neue's Formenlehre III,³ p. 448). This renders the verse metrical (see my text, § 31, 5); and perfect for future perfect is normal Plautine Latin. The reading *coimus* is perhaps attested by D's *cojm*'.

328.

Del.

sine sine cadere me. sino. f & hoc (B²) quod mihi in manust.

B¹ differs from B² in reading *sino*f & *hoc* etc.

My correction is s. s. *cadere me*; *desino*: *fetet hoc* | *quod mihi in manust*, interpreted as 'well, let me fall here; I give it up—it's sickening—my present undertaking'. The absolute use of *desino* seems pretty well justified by the examples cited in Harpers' Lexicon, and on the interpretations possible for *fetet* I refer to my notes.

358.

VBIALIQVIVELDENIS, etc.

This is my correction (*aliqui* is dative = *alicui*), printed in capitals. The MSS read *ubi* (B¹ uel) *aliqui quique denis*, which may easily have arisen from a haplography of *VIVE*, with subsequent supralinear insertion of the dropt *VI*.

362.

sed ego, sumne ille infelix, qui non curro curriculo domum?

I here follow the MSS, scanning *ille infelix*. If I am right in

doing so, this verse, perhaps, forms the second test case¹ necessary to prove the older view that *ille ipse*, etc., are sometimes genuine pyrrhics, and neither owe their pyrrhic value to the iambic law (quid illic), etc., nor are to be read *ill'*, *ips'*, etc., with Skutsch. The grounds for skepticism in respect to Skutsch's theory cannot be better stated than has been done already by Seyffert (Bursian's *Jahresber.*, vol. 80, p. 256). I agree with Seyffert and Niemeyer that *illum* in *Miles* 1231 has a naturally short initial syllable. I believe that *ille* and *iste* are as truly compounds as *ipse*: accident has left us no **eumle*, **eum* < *p* > *le* (cf. *tu-te*, *eop-te*) to match off against *eumpse*, that is all. If this is the case, *ille* and *iste*, as compounds, are entitled to such variations of quantity in Plautine metre as *ecquis*, and *ecquis* admits the iambic shortening in its final when long by position (e. g. in *Persa* 225, as pointed out by Seyffert, l. c.). The theory of composition with an enclitic also accounts for *nempe*, and the fact that *nempe* never fills a complete foot in Plautus is a phenomenon of musical phrasing (proclisis), and does not prove it a monosyllable.

A list of sentences, believed to be exhaustive, comparable in type with the line before us is herewith presented:

- Men.* 852. *sumne ego mulier misera, qui illaec audio?*
Merc. 588. *sumne ego homo miser, qui nusquam queo bene quiescere.*
Persa 75. *sed sumne ego stultus qui rem curo publicam.*
Cf. Men. 904. *sed ego stultus sum qui illius esse dico quae meast.*
Rud. 1184. *sumne ego scelestus ('accurst'), qui illunc hodie excepi uidulum.*
Bacch. 91. *sumne autem nili, qui nequeam ingenio moderari meo.*
Pseud. 908. *sumne ego homo insipiens, qui haec mecum egomet.*
Cf. Bacch. 623. *sumne ego homo miser? perdidici me, etc.*
Cas. 303. *sumne ego homo miser? satin omnes res sunt aduersae mihi?*
Miles 1345. . . . *sumne ego apud me?*

In these sentences the *qui*-clauses (and the coordinate clauses) furnish genuine motives for conviction of sorrow, folly, ill luck on the part of the questioner; while in our sentence, *Tranio's* not trotting along home is hardly a natural ground to allege for his personal conviction of ill luck. But the presence of *ille* in our sentence differentiates it from all the rest. I have cited in my note on this passage Plautine and other instances of *ille* in the sense of 'the typical, the proverbial, the notorious'; here I will cite but one fresh instance (*Horace*, *Epist.* 1. 20. 14): *ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille | qui male parentem in rupes pro-*

¹ I say 'perhaps' because *sūmne* seems to me a possible scansion, and if so *sūmne* 11(e) might fall under the iambic law.

trusit asellum | *iratus* (cf. Cist. 15). Does Plautus here use *ille infelix* of a typical man in a difficulty, as Horace uses *ille iratus* of a typical man in a passion? If so, not proceeding home is cited as a sign of being in a difficulty. A proverb to this effect is found in Greek: οἶκοι γενοίμην: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκφυγείν τὰ δεινὰ εὐχομένων; cf. also the proverbs οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος and οἶκοι μένειν δεῖ τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα (see Leutsch l. c., I, pp. 439, 262; cf. also his notes). A possible echo of these proverbs in Horace, Epist. 1. 17. 37,

sedit qui timuit ne non succederet.

From what fable shall we suppose this proverb to have come? Inasmuch as grounds have already been given for identifying Tranio with the jackdaw (κολοιδες), Phaedrus' fable of the jackdaw may be brought to our notice here:

. . . (Graculus) deinde *contemnens suos*,
se immiscuit pavonum formoso gregi.
illi impudenti pennas eripiunt avi
fugantque rostris. *male mulcatus* graculus
redire maerens coepit ad proprium genus, etc.

Or perhaps allusion is made again to the dallying κόραξ (see f. n. on p. 253).

375.

. . . disperii :: bis peristi, . . .

I have interpreted *bis* as perhaps an etymological quip with *dis-*, rather than a drunken stumble such as totus . . . :: potus (Stich. 771). Words like *des* for *bes* (Varro) and the glosses *dimus* for *bimus*, *difariam*, *difrax*, to say nothing of the form *dicolor*, a bad spelling (?) for *bicolor* (cf. Goetz, l. c. s. vv.), show a variation of *d-* and *b-* in the adverbs for 'twice'; cf. also in Cas. 974 *dis-marite*, with Leo's note.

1166.

disputet. <Tr.> istam ueniam: quid me fiet nunciam.

I have corrected i. u. to <bis> isti uenias, assuming a repetition here of the etymological play noted at 375. On the correction of *ueniam* to *uenias* see below on 926.

377.

<i,> iube abire rursum: quid illi reditio | etiam huc fuit.

So the editio minor. The offending hiatus, which I put in my text after *etiam*, might be removed by reading illi | <málum> red | itio eti | am, etc. The result is a good Plautine sentence (cf. vss. 6, 34): but how account for the falling out of *malum*?

382. See above, p. 262.

407-408.

407 Pluma haud interest, patronus an cliens probrior siet.

408 Homini, quoi nulla in pectorest audacia,

410 [Nam quouiis homini, uel optumo uel pessumo]

411 Quamuis desubito facilest facere nequiter.

So the editio minor. My text transposes the space of one line before 407, inserting therein the (late) scene heading of D^b, and reads,

TRANIO *Seruos*

SPHAERIO *Puer.*

pluma haud interest patronus ac cliens: probe cor ciet

hominem quoi nulla in pectorest audacia.

Nam quouiis homini, etc.

The metrical change from trochaic septenarii to senarii is not unlike the modulation in 745-747 from iambic octonarius through an iambic Septenarius to Senarii. At Amph. 973 Jupiter speaks a trochaic septenarius in dialogue, and then goes on with senarii in soliloquy. In the present passage, according to my reading, Tranio, after a long dialogue in septenarii makes use of one septenarius more to pass into his soliloquy in senarii: cf. also Capt. 360-361.

In reading *ac* I but follow B. B's probrior (propior, CD) I change to probe cor, and my reading of ciet is founded on the *sciet* of BCD, which was changed in B to *siet*. The miswriting of ciet as sciet is on a par with consciuit for conciuit (Persa 784) and, conversely, citus for scitus, i. e. scitius, Pseud. 748.

For the sense, cor means 'conscience', and ciet 'accusat', as in Bacch. 415 (cf. Ussing's note): the sense is 'conscience makes a brave attack upon the coward'. Perhaps we should read, not probe cor, but *probri* <c> or, 'conscience impeaches the coward only of ill-doing' (*probri*). In anapaestic verse, at least, probri is susceptible to the iambic shortening (Bacch. 1167): the iambic shortening through mute and liquid in iambic and trochaic measures is rare, but fabris in vs. 131 of our play is a probable instance, and patrēm s- in Bacch. 404 is not to be called in question.

469.

. . . obsecro hercle, quin eloquere <rem>?

I have supplied rem 'it, the truth, the matter'; cf. 198-9, si dictis nequis perduci ut uera haec credas | mea dicta, ex factis nosce rem.

506 sq.

I have given the words *st st* to the insiders, interpreting them as a cautious attempt to open communications with Tranio, and have followed the MSS in leaving to Tranio *hicine percussit* (508); in 512 I again follow the MSS, leaving *abscede ab ianua*: *fuge obsecro hercle* to the frightened master, now trying in his turn to get Tranio away from the door. This involves changing the nota TH. in 513 to TR. This readjustment of the parts renders it possible to interpret *percussisses* in 521, as it stands, without changing to *percussissem*. For the interpretation of all this difficult ghost scene I refer to my text and notes.

545.

sicut me habet < miserum >. uerum, etc.

I have inserted *miserum*: it were better placed perhaps after *me*. The possibility of confusion by homoioteleuton with *uerum* is of course reckoned with, and *miserum* makes an excellent repetition of *miserius* in the previous verse. For the thought of (*consci*us animus) *me miserum habet* cf. Cist. 672, itaque petulantia mea me animi miseram habet. Other cases of the idiom *miserum habere* are Asin. 869, Casina 116, Epid. 667, Trin. 268.

552.

dixtin <ei> quaeso? :: dixi inquam ordine omnia.

I have supplied *ei*.

559.

tam facile uinces, quam pirum uolpes comest.

My notes defend this passage, but the following emendation for *pirum* seems worth suggesting, viz., *pinam* 'mussel'. This suggestion is based on the Greek proverb (cf. Leutsch., l. c. II, 268), 'Αλώπηξ οὐ δωροδοκεῖται: ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ῥαδίως δώροις πειθομένων, which Apostolius (II, 17) goes on to illustrate with three fox stories; first, how the fox catches hedgehogs (χερσαίους ἐχίνοους), which, having split open, ἐσθίει ῥαδίως; a second story tells how the fox hunts ἰχθύδια, viz., by letting down his tail into the water, which, when the fishes tangle themselves therein, he draws out, καὶ ἐκεῖναι δειπνον ἀβρότατον ἔχουσι. The situation here is that Tranio has just wished for a judge who will believe him, "then", says he to his master, "you will win your case as easily as a fox eats a mussel".

I do not define ἰχθύδια, as shell-fish, crustaceans, but I think ἰχθύδια has taken the place in the story of some word for shell-

fish, crustaceans, perhaps of *ἐχίνους πελαγίους*: nowadays the fox does secure shell-fish and crustaceans upon the seashore.

569.

. . . qui de argentos (B¹-*teos*)? . . .

So the MSS, with a correction in B² to quid de argentost, which the editors follow. My text reads qui de argento es? 'how are you off for money?' comparing Truc. 741, de eo (sc. argento) nunc bene sunt.

580.

See above, p. 262.

663.

nisi ut in uicinum hunc proximum d<olum ĕx>ercitem.

This reading accounts for all of the reasonably certain letters of A. P's line end, *mendacium*, can clearly not be brought into conformity with A's reading, and seems to have been caught up from the next line but one. The frequentative verb *ex(s)ercitare* may be derived either from *exercēre* 'to practice', or from *exsercīre* [ptc. *exserc(i)tus*] 'to cobble up, patch up': for the sense, the latter is the more probable derivation, cf. Amph. 367, compositis mendaciis aduenisti . . . *consutis dolis*. This passage makes us wonder if *mendacium* in the Palatini was not perhaps a gloss on *dolum*?

725.

< tuo animo > morem geras.

The Palatini indicate a gap before morem, and we cannot judge how much to supply by the spacing of the gaps in these MSS. Of course tuo animo is a mere *ad sensum* supplement, but Casina 784 facite uostro animo uolup, in conjunction with Amph. 131 pater nunc intus suo animo morem gerit,—cf. also Bacch. 416: est lubido homini suo animo obsequi; | iam aderit tempus, cum sese etiam ipse oderit: morem geras—, sufficiently vindicate the phraseology for Plautus.

727.

. . . quid <est>? Ehem.

I have supplied est (following Z), and have transposed ehem from the beginning of 728 to the end of 727. Notice that B reads the *hic*, final in 723 (A), as the initial word of 724.

757.

quid <rei> consomniavit? Tr. etc.

The loss of *rei* (? *rē*, gen.) may perhaps be connected with the misunderstanding of the word as the nota, Tr. (see on vs. 5). For quid rei? cf. Rud. 487 si . . . quid rei, etc.

802-803.

Misericordia s<e abstinere> hominem oportet
 :: morare hercle <uerba ut> facis, etc.

My text adopts these insertions from other sources. For 802 we get as good sense and metre by reading misericordia<m> s<ibi adhibere> etc., 'charity ought to begin at home' and this makes 802 parallel with 801:

lucri quicquid est, id domum trahere oportet.

A general approach to the sentiment is found in Men. 982, ego ita ero ut me esse oportet: | metum [id] mihi adhibeam, etc. For 803 we might supply *me et male*, comparing Poen. 359 morare et male facis, but we should have to define male facis by something like 'you're boring', or 'you're making a fool of yourself'.

870.

. . . probe textum habebo

So I read for tectum h., treating *textum* as a verb of effecting with an *ut* and a *ne* dependence. This is forcing textit 'contrives', beyond the warrant of the examples known to me. Perhaps rather we should correct to *effectum*. This is palaeographically easy (see on 890) and the context might have prompted a copyist to the misreading.

890.

ferocem facis quia effertus fumat:: uah.

I read effe(a)rtus for te eratus of the MSS (see my 1st paper p. 184),—cf. Men. 91 where A reads effugiet and P te fugiet—; and for amat,< f >umat. For the interpretation of these words I refer to my notes. Metrically, fūmāt vāh as a 4th Bacchius in the tetrameter is a rare type. It were easy to infer from the statement of the metrical hand books that — : — (the colon here symbolizes a word end) *does* not occur in the 2d and 4th Bacchius, that it *cannot* occur (but cf. Most. 101, where (ex-)templo sunt is a 2d foot; and Cas. 23, where inter se is a 4th — though inter se might be regarded as — — — rather than — : —); but such an inference will not hold. In the 378 (= 370) bacchii listed by Goetz and Schoell only 40 + instances of a 4th foot containing 6 morae occur [— — — (24); — : — — (10); — ∪ ∪ — (2); — : ∪ ∪ — (3); ∪ ∪ : — — (? Men. 759); — — : — (Cas. 23)]. In the remaining 330 instances of 5-moric 4th feet, the type ∪ — : — occurs 25 times (1: 13), not counting among the monosyllabic endings cases where there are two monosyllables, nor

cases where the final monosyllable is merged with the preceding word by elision. There are not enough cases for a certain induction, but if in 330 cases of $\cup - -$ only 1 in 13 are of the type $\cup - : -$, the utmost expectancy of the type $- - : -$, in 40 + cases of $- - -$, would be 3.¹

Possibly, however, we should read 890 as follows: *ferocem facis quia effortūs amat :: uah*, interpreting "you're showing off your wit (or temper) because a full man loves <to do so>", defending the quantification of *effortūs* by Casina 650,

malūm pessumūmq̄ hic modo intūs apūd nos

904.

quid tibi uisumst mercimoni? Th. <totus> totus gaudeo.

So my text, following Gruter. It now occurs to me that the word that has fallen out may have been *emtum* (emptum), written *ētū*; cf. Merc. 500, *hoc emi* ('I've taken?') *mercimonium*.

926.

. . . *tam deis gratia*, etc.

This reading, advanced in my first paper (p. 184) for B's *Eam dehis gratiam*, may be further defended by Pseud. 713, *tam gratiam* (B) *tamgratia* (A), but *tam gratiast* (the editors); here also we might read *gratiast*. In Aul. 758 *eam* has been corrected to *iam*.

967.

. . . *amplius quam cui* . . .

Thus I have combined A's *amplius quam* and B's *melius cuiquam*.

984.

Tranio: is uel Herculi conterere quaes<i>tum potest.

In this verse I restore the metre by recognizing a doublet *quaesitus/quaestus*; cf. Casina. 530, in *quaesitione*, against

¹ May I ask users of my book to correct the table at the top of p. xxv, under 4th foot to $\cup - \cup$ 36, and insert below it $- - -$ 2? I have neglected also to call the students' attention in § 24.1 and § 30 to the common occurrence of a caesura in bacchiac tetrameters in the second or third feet as a substitute for the diaeresis between said feet: however, if it be observed that the diaeresis can come between the parts of a compound word, the diaeresis rather than the caesura must be regarded as the normal pause. We should do well, in my opinion, to scan 785, e. g., as follows:

erō seruōs mūltī—modīs suō fidus :: ūnde is.

If we had the musical score, we might discover that in the musical phrasing diaeresis was in general made good at the expense of dividing words by a musical pause between syllables.

some half-dozen cases of in quaestione (Capt. 253; Cist. 541, 593; Persa, 51; Pseud. 663; cf. Trin. 1012).

A surprising number of verses occur with defective metre containing the word *quaestus*: it is more surprising how many of them are mended in their metre by reading *quaesitus*, e. g.

Most. 1107. *quidum?* :: quia nil quaes<i>ti sit: ita mali hercle ambo sumus.

Capt. 98. nunc hūc occipit quaes<i>tum hunc fili gratia.

Persa 61. unde ēgo hūnc quaes<i>tum optineo et maiorum locum.

Rud. 291. praesertim quibus nec quaes<i>tus est nec didicere artem nullam.

Rud. 1345. si fraudassis dic ut te in quaes<i>tu tuo.

Truc. 416. ad suōm quemque aequomst quaes<i>tum esse callidum.

Truc. 932. omnes homines ad suōm quaes<i>tum calēt et fastidiunt.

990.

puere atque puero quaeritemus :: sequere hac me <modo>

:: puere, etc.

This is A's reading; the editors correct *puero* to *porro*. For reasons of interpretation (explained in my notes) I have transposed the first *puere* to a position before *sequere*, inserting before it the nota Th. Leo drops *puere* altogether, inserting *illos* after *quaeritemus*.

1012.

Quid, a Tranione seruo? :: multo id minus.

So B. A preserves, of the whole line, only *multo minus*, with space for more words than the Palatini. My text reads, mending the metre, *id <nimis> multo minus*. In behalf of this emendation I note F's misreading of *minus* by *nimis*, a common manuscript fault; and Bacch. 672, where the editio minor corrects *nimio minus multo* to *nimis multo minus*.

1038-9.

. . . Th. seruorumque operam et lora mihi cedo.

<Si.> sume <ea>. <Th.> eademque opera haec tibi narrauerō.

So the editio minor, plus <ea>, which is my insertion.

1091.

See above, p. 262.

1107.

See on 984 above.

1134.

age mitte ista: cito ad me ad cenam.

I read *cito* for *acto* of the MSS, supposing it to stand for *καλῶ* in the original, with the sense of *voco*, *inuito*, playing on the legal

sense 'I summon(s).' Callidamates has been appointed *orator* for the errant son, and his use of legal language is not unnatural. Perhaps, however, Plautus wrote $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega$ (transcribed *cato*, then *acto*), for the sake of a quip on the name of Callidamates.

1166.

See after 375.

1172.

Ca. Mitte quaes <o>, istum <mihi> <Th.> Em uiden? Ut resistat furcifer.

This reading is new only so far as concerns the insertion of *mihi*; *em* and *resistat* for *e* and *restat* of the MSS were suggested in my first paper (l. c., p. 188).

1178.

hanc modo unam noxiam unam quaeso fac causa mea.

My notes defend the second *unam* as predicate after *fac*, not a skipping dittography: 'make (treat) one fault (as) one'; *unam domum* (*familiam*) *facere* occurs in Terence, *Adelph.* 909, 926.

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